The Woodhouselee MS.

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS IN EDINBURGH AND DISTRICT DURING THE JACOBITE OCCUPATION, SEPTEMBER TO NOVEMBER 1745

Printed from Original Papers
in the possession of
C. E. S. Chambers, Edinburgh

W. & R. CHAMBERS, LIMITED
LONDON AND EDINBURGH
1907

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers, Limited.

INTRODUCTION.

THE lands of Woodhouselee, until 1657 called Fulford, lying in the parish of Glencorse and county of Mid-Lothian, during the latter part of the 17th century belonged to Sir William Purves of Abbeyhill, Bart., of whom there is a legend (not uncontested, however) that he was the original prototype of Allan Ramsay's 'Sir William Worthy' in *The Gentle Shepherd.* Be that as it may, he had unquestionably been Solicitor-General under King Charles II., and late in life he sold his property to James Deans of Woodhouselee, advocate, who had married his daughter Rosina. A later James Deans of Woodhouselee married Bethia, daughter of Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchel, and dying 7th May 1720, was succeeded by his son, Robert Deans. The last, who was a surgeon in Edinburgh, sold part of his estate to Alexander Pitcairn in 1727. Daughters of the family had married into the houses of Ramsay of Whitehill, Purves of that ilk, and

2063417

Drummond of Concraig, and one (in 1747) became the wife of the Rev. William Wishart, D.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh. A sister, moreover, of Robert Deans, Margaret Deans, had married, in 1718, Alexander Pitcairn, W.S., a son of David Pitcairn of Dreghorn, and it was to him that Woodhouselee was conveyed in 1727. Mrs Pitcairn died in 1741; but before her death her husband had sold, in 1734, his portion of Woodhouselee to a new proprietor named Patrick Crichton.

The new laird, though he claimed descent from a junior branch of the Crichtons, Viscounts Frendraught, was a saddler and ironmonger in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and it is not unlikely that it was he who was the writer of the Diary of the year 1745, which is now first published under the title of *The Woodhouselee MS.* Patrick Crichton did not long possess the estate, and the knowledge of his short tenure might quite naturally have led him piously to describe it as 'owr poor hyred sheeld of Woodhouselee.' He parted with the lands in 1749 to William Tytler, Clerk to

the Signet, the father of Lord Woodhouselee, acquiring (in exchange perhaps) Newington House, which had been possessed by Mrs Tytler, the widow of Mr Alexander Tytler, writer, and the mother of his successor in Woodhouselee. We thus see that Patrick Crichton was a man of means and of some position. His firm was a good one, and lasted for some generations. If we are right in thinking he may have been the writer of this Diary, we would greatly like to know more about him; but, unfortunately, little can be found in the records. His wife's name has not transpired, although he was married before 1740. He was about fifty-five years of age in 1745, the year in which the Diary was written, and was then a successful burgess of Edinburgh. He died near Edinburgh, 27th April 1760, leaving a son, Alexander Crichton of Newington (1740–1808), who registered arms as such in 1763. He was a coach-builder for many years, very much respected in Edinburgh, and was, in turn,* father of

* His wives' names are given in the *Monumental Inscriptions of Greyfriars*. His son is mentioned there also.

two sons—Captain Patrick Crichton of the 57th Regiment, Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh (1761–1823), who will be found noticed in *Kay's Original Portraits*, the father of Sir Archibald William Crichton of Russian fame;—and Sir Alexander Crichton (1763–1856), Physician to the Emperor of Russia, of whom there is an account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Whether Patrick Crichton was the writer of the Woodhouselee MS., now printed, or not, it was without doubt written by the occupier of the estate of Woodhouselee during his time; and it is much concerned with the doings of the neighbouring Pentland proprietors during the troublous 'Jacobite' year.

The MS. passed into the possession of Mr Archibald Stewart Denham, who had an interesting collection of Jacobite and Whig papers. He in turn gave it to Dr Robert Chambers, when he was at work on his excellent *History of the Rebellion*. It was seen, about the same time, by Sir Walter Scott, who thought it worth publishing. It has remained, however, for its present owner,

Dr Chambers's grandson, Mr Charles E. S. Chambers, to print it in its present form.

Whoever he was, the author of the MS. was a keen Whig and a pious Presbyterian. Deeply distrustful of Archibald Stewart, the Lord Provost, whom he regarded (perhaps rightly enough) as a Jacobite but thinly disguised, he felt that the inadequately defended city of Edinburgh had been betrayed into the enemy's hands. The narrative, therefore, though it has little of historic novelty in it, is all the more interesting as it is written from the point of view of a sincere Whig, a standpoint now too often lost to sight owing to the overpowering glamour of Jacobite romance. The writer, we see, regarded the success of a 'Popish' or an 'Italian' prince with horror; to him the Jacobite poets, Ramsay and Hamilton of Bangour, were only 'the mungerall burluesque poet' and 'the nationall poetic good for nothing lad,' and his Diary shows with much vigour the dread the countryside had of the invading Highland 'Banditti.' There is little new in the account given of the battle of Prestonpans; but we are glad to have the narrative

of the contest between the Castle and the Jacobite army. The fear of the citizens when shells were flying is tellingly indicated, and the writer quaintly expresses his feelings when he writes, 'I saw a musket ball was battered upon the stons in Grasmarket, and a gentleman missed it narrowly.'

Many entries allude to members of the ministry of Edinburgh, and particularly to the clerical family of Bannatyne, or Ballantyne, evidently on terms of great intimacy with the writer. Hugh Ballantyne, frequently mentioned, was the young probationer to the ministry of whom we read much in the *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle.* He, with young Carlyle, was a volunteer in the Town Guard of Defence in 1745, and later, having become a clergyman, died February 26, 1769, the much-respected minister of Dirleton.

The exciting chase, as a spy, of his brother, the Rev. George Ballantyne, minister of Craigie, by Andrew Lumisden, who afterwards became the Prince's chief secretary, and his disarming by the minister who escaped with difficulty from

the hue and cry of the irate Highlanders, is new, at least to us, and is told here with much spirit, among the events of the first week of October 1745. The perplexities of the Presbyterian ministers, the most zealous of whom were Dr Webster and the outspoken and rash Mr MacVicar, are much animadverted on, and the writer greatly deplores Edinburgh's silent Sabbaths and their cause, and even appends a prayer for forgiveness, with a hint that the silence enduring as long as four Sundays may be Divine punishment for 'the stage plays, dancing assemblies, and consorts of music' which were 'former abominations.' Mentioned in the Diary are many petty spoliations by the Highlanders, who scoured the country; but in spite of their enumeration, and with the exception perhaps of a few cases of real oppression, they all tend to show how moderate the demands of the Jacobites were when they had the country prostrate at their feet. They 'gulravished' a public-house perhaps, 'stole' or took many horses; attacked one or two houses—for example, from Woodhouselee on October 16th they stole some 'linings,' and even 'beat the

evergreens for concealed things,'—but without doing much harm; still, like the writer, we can 'sumpathise' with the startled householders distressed on such occasions. We get a good idea in the part of the Diary which deals with the visits of these 'rowgs' of the fear that was felt by the small lairds of the Pentlands lest they should be misused. Yet, when the Highlanders did appear, the two Appin Stewarts who acted as 'escort' to Mrs Philp of Greenlaw were found to be 'civil,' and conversed pleasantly enough, even telling the writer humorously of the way they traced the fact that an East Lothian miser had concealed riches in his house. 'He was shilling peas when they came in and would give them nothing, but was so cairfull as to pick up a peas or two (which) had fallen; but they searched and hitt upon all his money.' The narrative of the Quaker brewer's demand for redress from Prince Charles for the robbery of his goods, given in the Diary (p. 82), is very favourable to his brave outspokenness. We give the account of his meeting with the Prince from Ray's *Compleat History of the Rebellion* (p. 62), so that it may be com-

pared: 'The fair dealing Quaker makes his Application to their prince, assuring him "*That method he pursu'd would never prosper, or answer his Expectation; for,* said he, *our George takes only a Part of our Money, but Thou even verily takes all; and Thou may'st as well take my Life, as take away the Prop that supports it,*" upon which complaint the Highland Prince answered, *That he* (Mr *Areskine*) *was many Years in debt to the Revenue of his father's Excise, and it was but the proper Dues to his Government;*' but we much prefer the version given by our author.

Incidentally we meet many things—small in themselves—which are valuable as being attested by the observation of a contemporary witness. We are glad to read of the 'more polite sight' he beheld, the view of Prince Charles Edward and his suite before the entry of Edinburgh. The description of the dress of the Prince by another eye-witness has in itself a curious interest also. Neither is it unpleasing to have a truthful if hostile spectator's description of the Proclamation on September 17th, which differs slightly from Boyes's history,

even though he describes it as a 'commick fars;' nor, though it may not be of great historic value, do we disdain to know, as we are told here, that the wife of Secretary Murray of Broughton rode with the army 'in huzare dress,' accoutred with pistols, and wore in her cap 'a white plumoshe feather,' as it gives details we would not willingly be without.

The MS. is printed now as it was penned. We find that the Lothian Scots in which it was written is full of forcible words, some of which, though very expressive, are now almost obsolete. We have, however, for the benefit of the modern reader, ventured to punctuate the Diary, and we have added a few notes to point out the identity of the lesser known names which occur in it, in the hope that this perhaps may be the means of making it of more real interest to the local historians of Mid-Lothian.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

EDINBURGH, *June* 1906.

THE WOODHOUSELEE MS.

1745.

SABBATH, September 15, the Highlanders were at Linlithgow and owr two Irish Regements of Dragowns stood at the west end of Corstorphin. Edinburgh was alarmed the fyer bell by Archibald Stewart (Alenbank and Lanton) provost. His order was rung which disperssed all the churches the time of lectur or the morning service. Letters came from Mr Philpe * of Greenlaw to his Lady at Glencorse Church, and we were allarmed with accownt Prince Charles and his Highland bandits were at Corstorphin two miles from Edinburgh and three from us at Woodhows Lea. Mr John Wilson our minister † deterred the people in church

* John Philp of Greenlaw.

† Of Glencorse Parish, from 1699 to his death, 14th July 1757, in his 81st year. He married in 1707, Christian, daughter of William Douglas of Baads.

with a long sermon and ane ill-timed exortation after which I had not patience to hear owt, considering the enemie was at the gaits. Upon the letter Mrs Philp went in to town. She was in owtmost terror and amazement for her husband (she said) and her dear child which were in Edinburgh. One of the elders, George Straiton, by his master Mr Mowbry's warning, went owt in time of sermon to dryve off his horses to the hills, the rest of the congregation satt qwiet, only owr familie left parte of the tediows ill timed exortation. I and the two children went to the tope of Leepshill, and with my prospect viewed these two regements of dragoons at the west end of Corstorphin to the northward of the highway where the two rods joyn. Edinburgh had a good dale of zeale and spirit. There had been 800 volenteers raised. There was the King's signe manuall for a 1000 men lately come down, the walls were put in better order, and barricads of turfe at the gaites, and some canon planted. Generall

Ghest* had given the King's armes to those volunteers, the town gaird was full. All these with the 2 Regs. of Dragowns might have resisted and probable defeat fowr thowsand or a few more ill armed ill accowtered fatigued Highlanders, but this wanted a cheife magistrat to conduct the numbers and there spirit and the Lord Provost was justly suspected of corresponding with the rebells by means of his cowsin Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and by sevral John Stewart† professor of naturall phylosophie. It was said that of the train band captains 12 of 15 were Jacobit and the Commandant a Jacobit, the town was full of freinds to Prince Charles, and being now harvest the Heighlanders of there partie, man and weeman, had been sent up a good number under pretext of harvest work. But the Provost's conduct cast a damp upon all, he was slow in his de-

* Guest.

† He died 12th May 1759, at Edinburgh.—*Scots Magazine.*

liberations bacward in executing things agreed, he fixed upon a dismall signall the ringing the alarmer or fyer bell to call the volonters or the burgers, and this was a publick intimation to the rebell freinds within and withowt the city. The volunteers had old crassey officers the provost named there, captains George Drumond,* commissioner of excise, old provost McCallie, Ja. Nimmo, awditor of excise, Sir George Preston, Kerr goldsmith &c.† of these George Drummond had some resolution, Sir George Preston was hearty when the call was by the alarem bell to march to Grasmarket in order to march to Corstorphin. Only Drummond and Prestons companies marched down and of these many looked as going to execution (for this is the place of hanging). Some of the zelows bretheren ministers of Edinburgh that had lifted

* Late Lord Provost.

† James Kerr of Bughtrig, M.P., Edinburgh, 1747–54. Died 24th January 1768. He was said to be 'much in the confidence of the late Mr Pelham.'—*Letters of the Right Hon. Lady Jane Douglas*, p. 89.

there hearts failed them they crayed owt it was a mad attempt; so said Moderator Wishart * and flaming Mr Alexander Webster;† they acted like prists, and Georg Drummond was for leaving his body on the city walls. All was confusion and they were not knitt by disiplin and awthority and were raw men they were betrayed, betrayed, by the Kings liftenent the cheif magistrat, so they returned. The rebells approched with good disiplin for to give them there due never did 6000 theiving naked ruffiens with uncowth wappons make so harmeless a march in a civilised plentifull cowntry, and the dissiplin was so severe they hanged up one or two at Lithgow for pilfering. Sabath

* Rev. Wm. Wishart, D.D., elected moderator 9th May 1745. He was made Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and died 12th May 1753. His second wife (who was three times married) was Frances Deans of Woodhouselee.

† Minister of the Tolbooth Church. Died 25th January 1784. 'By his importunity with the lamented Colonel Gardiner, it has been stated, the fatal encounter at Preston in 1745 was hastened.'—Scott's *Fasti*, i. 51.

night they marched to Winchburgh three or 4 miles from Lithgow the Irish Dragowns Generall Hamelton and Collonell Gardeners regements marchd in towards Edinburgh. The pannick in the good town incressed, every one wishd for day light. Monday the 16 came with all the confusion and false alarmes the rebells had the best intelligence by the cannals showld have given it the other way and the expresses with suspected letters to the Highland host had Lord Provost of Edinburgh his pass and two of them had been stoped by the military at Corstorphin and stoped with such pass in there pocket.

To notice all the particulars in a distracted city were impossible, babell at the dispertion was such ane other runing owt runing in and runing abowt was all was done. A port had been left open and it was fund so in the patroling and after the orders were strick to shut and the kees showld have been with the Provost. This was suspitious being one Moonday

befor day, and was deemed to give enterance to the stragling forruners of the enimie, the patrole ordered it to be shutt. Soon one Moonday the military went to Coltbridge a mile west from Edinburgh, and there the dragowns lay; and abowt 150 foot of town gairds, and new levies by the Kings signe manwall. They had been late in procuring this, and of the 1000 the town were to raise by subscription so dilatory were they tho one months pay was signed 3 days befor they had gott only 120. I saw the military &c. at the Cowt bridge Collonel Gardener I spoke with. He was in bad habit of body, and had come from Scarsburgh waters, and his regiment was fatigwed having had long marches and watchings for three days befor. They lookd very unlicke men wowld stand to it. I saw Generall Hamilton's sqwadron they looked better, but alace they were Irishmen! The foot, near the east end of the bridge, they looked licke men for the purpose but they were a handfull.

By some infatwat cowncill of regency Generall John Cope with the infantry was ordered to give up in a maner the key of North Brittan and march north and he was returning by sea from Aberdeen with ane harassed foot batalions had danced a 200 miles march to Inverness and Aberdeen, and now cooped upon transports, and no word of there arivall. In short the Highlanders had all the advantages and there leaders all the inteligence they cowld desire and on they came with there bagpipes and plaids, rusty rapiers, matchlocks, and fyerlocks, and tag rag and bob taile was there. September 16 they dined at Todshawgh abowt 6 miles west from town and I was with Collonel Gardener abowt 3 afternoon when one of the scowts came in and said that 400 of the Highland advance gaird was on the north east poynt of Corstorphin hill. I took leave of Gardener and retired cross the fields and saw the dragowns mownt. They made 3 lowd huzaas and rod off to the north-

ward and thane twrned east, and it is said they did not draw brydle till they came to Muselburgh and there they refrashed and marched one. It was said the reason they past Edinburgh was this that Generall Fowx * who had come from England had concerted with Provost Stewart that so many foot as possible showld march owt to the military and that these foot supported by the horse showld make a stand and receive the rebells. That he waited, and when non came he sent off ane edecamp who retwrned with this that the provost wowld give no answer: That after his returne he waited three howres, and then rod off withowt noticing the town. The city was in a fray upon the military going off but whither befor or after I cannot now say. The provost ordered his dolefull alarme by bell of ominows sownd, and this was ane unconcerted signall to call the inhabitants under ther pannick to see if they wowld defend or surrender.

* Fowkes.

The meeting was confused, but the result was 'yow volunteers surrender yowr armes to the Castle and disband' which was done, and George Drummond who had declared for leaving his body on the walls, made a pedantick speach when they came to disband, and all the noble captains absconded. The next order was a deputation to the pretended Prince from the honowrable and galant magistrats and Gavin Hamilton, eldest bailie, sent with it to Colington, for by this way the rebells were to parad, to shun the fyring from the Maiden Castle, for these mowntaneers do not love the noise of great guns. As a conseqwence of this abject deputation the ports were thrown open, and all the enimie invited to come in at discretion withowt previous articles of capitulation, or the towngaird or train-bands armes being put owt of the way, and no dowt, had the offer been made, the Castle had received them and keeped them from the Highlanders handling canons and all.

Honest men must shift for themselves, the scurlewheelers take possession by break of day and this Tewsday, September 17, marches the heavy bagage on the sowth syde of Breads Craiges. I saw the cavillcade and all the Highland wifes along with the bagage, and 3 or 400 men as a gwarde. They crossed the Lintown rod I was walking along to Edinburgh and I was a little alarmed to be within ther hale becaws the straglers of all bagag men ar iregular but they they [*sic*] were in tope spirits with the prospect of a warme qwarters and plenty, upon the kind Lord Provosts invitation. I crossed there rod after they had past Morton, and came up with ane honest farmer in Collington Mains whos horses and cariages they had pressed. He told me they had plundered and brock all his furnetur. they had robbed 6 silver spoons. I took off the by rode to Brade, and went down to Canaan muir, and at a distance I had a politer sight. This

was the pretended Prince his retenew and gardes. They had past befor I came up but ther rear was in vew. The tennant there told me the Prince was in Higland dress a velvet bonet, both gold lace ringed abowt both at the head ring and the seeming above. He was supported by the titular Duke of Perth on his right hand, Lord Weems his sone Lord Elcho on his left, and all the hillskipers in rank and file. Generall Preston deput governowr from the Castle fyred three cannon shott which made them start and halt, tho they were withowt vew and withowt reach. The Prince stopet at Grange and drunk some bottles wine. He marched one keping withowt reach till he came to the Abby Pallace, as he twrned down by the Kings park he was informed Generall Cope had landed at Dunbar. He answered 'Is he by God?' It was said he had some fright he and his retenew when they passed by the D. . . . walke being in vew of the

Castle, but to Holyroodhouse he came abowt eleven.

September 17. I entered the town by the Bristol port which I saw to my indignation in the keeping of these caterpillers. A boy stood with a rusty drawen sword and two fellows with things licke guns of the 16 centurie sat on each syde the entry to the poors howse, and these were catching the vermin from ther lurking places abowt ther plaids and throwing them away. I said to Mr Jerdin,* minister of Liberton, 'ar these the scownderalls have surprised Edinburgh by treachery?' He answered 'I had reither seen it in the hands of Frenchmen, but the divell and the deep sea are both bad.' When I came to the head of the stairs leads to the Parliament Closs I cowld scarce pass for throng, and the Parliament Closs was crowded with them for they were to make the parad at reading the manefesto

* The Rev. John Jardine, D.D., afterwards of the Tron Church. Died 30th May 1766.

and declaration from the Cross. I saw from a window near the Cross, north syde of the High Streeat, this commick fars or tragic commody. All these mountan officers with there troupes in rank and fyle marched from the Parliament Closs down to surrownd the Cross, and with there bagpipes and loosie crew they maid a large circle from the end of the Luickenboths to half way below the Cross to the Cowrt of Gaird, and non but the officers and speciall favowrits and one lady in dress * were admitted within the ranges. I observed there armes, they were guns of diferent syses, and some of innormowows lengh, some with butts tured up lick a heren, some tyed with puck threed to the stock, some withowt locks and some matchlocks, some had swords over ther showlder instead of guns, one or two had pitchforks, and some bits of sythes upon poles with a cleek, some old Lochaber axes. The pipes plaid pibrowghs when they were making ther

* Probably Mrs Murray of Broughton.

circle thus they stood rownd 5 or six men deep. Perhaps there was a strategem in this appearance to make us think they were a rabbell unarmed in this publick parad show, for a greate many old men and boys were mixed and they certanly conceiled there best men and armes thus for they have 1400 of the most daring and best melitia in Europe. However the parad went on, the Crosse to the east was covered with a larg fine Persian carpet. The Lyon Heralds in there formalities, coats on, and bleasons displayed, came attended but with one trumpet to the theatur or to the Cross. They were five in number, Ereskin, Lyon Clerk, on his left, Roderick Chalmers, pursevant and herald panter, the others were Clerkson, pursevant, Gray and one I knew not. All the streat and the windows and forstairs were crowded and sylence being made the manefesto was read in the name of James 8. of Scotland England France and Ireland King was a full indemnity and pardon granted

for all crimes commited, I presume prior to this publication, the malt tax and all other grivences to be removed, the churches secured the Church of England as by law established and these of Scotland and Ireland according to the lawse of the severall kingdoms. I presume puting the Church of England first the lawse of this and the neighbowr kingdom were understood the laws in favowrs of Episcopacie, but tender conscienceses were to be indulged, this might extend to papists, lining manufactory and fishing to be encuraged, and liberty and property secure, and all this given owt at Rome, December 1743, and the 43 year of owr reigne. The Prince Regent's declaration was a reswming all and confirming it and dated from Paris,* Thus the winds blew from Rome and Paris were to work owr thraldome. The papers were cairfully dispersed every where amongst the people, and in the little armie the King had and emissaries had been bussie

* 16th May 1745.

every where. Chalmers the herald* pronunced all this manefesto and declaration with ane awdable strong voice. I cowld hear at my distance distinctly, and many much further, for there was profownd silence after all these military dismissed with bagpipes playing and a fashon of streamers over ther showlders and the chime of bells from the High Church steaple gave musicall tunes all the whill.

The honest partie had no human refuge to look to but Generall John Cope and his batalions, and the two dastardly Irish regiments of dragowns. These poltrown sqwadrons, to look back by some infatuat Cowncill in the Regency what owr shutelcok Lord Advocat had proposed, was peremptorly ordered by a Commitee of the Regency at London that John Coope showld march from

* Boyes in his *History of the Rebellion*, says, on the other hand, that the Proclamation, &c., was read by David Beatt, a Jacobite teacher in Edinburgh; we have here, however, the testimony of an eye-witness.

Stirling with the few forces raw undisiplined and attack the rebels and the street any emptie fellow General George Wade had paved a good way with a gloriows bridg over the River Tay some years agou and this wowld facilitat there march so one went owr generall and his batalions but near to his distruction, for the conspiracy was strong and he not able to face them and a retreet was dangerows. That great and good patriot Duncan Forbes of Coloden, Lord Presedent, was in the North and sent express to the generall to escape with his forces to Inverness, and to Inverness they came, a harrasing disgrasfull march, and undertook a new fatigue and marched to Aberdeen with ther feild train of allearm amonition and bagage. Was ever in Scotland heard or seen such dancing and deray? Transports a great many were sent from Leith to bring up owr armie from Aberdeen becawse they durst not march by land in the Kings terretories. The rebells had got the com-

mand off all by giving up the keys of Scotland the pass at Stirling and they pass the Forth 7 or eight miles above Stirling town and castle. They came and looked at Stirling in there way but the castle and gereson scared them for a cannon ball grased within 12 ells of the Princes sacred person. He said 'the doges bark but dar not byte.' John Cope, Generall (for this name showld alwise be so placed) took with him in his transports, by advice of Presedent Forbes, some Highlanders of the clans McKyes and Monroes, and so owr last hopes in Scotland landed at Dunbar, but alace to late, for these wild bandits had gott warme plentifull interteanment and amonition and armes at Edinburgh and some 100 of volenteers with ther white cocades joyned them, and it was thowght in John Cope's absence the dragowns had been practiced upon and debawched. However they joyned him and forward from Dunbar he marched. He marched above 3000 foot and dra-

gowns a train of 8 or 10 field pices, a morter, 2 colverns and suitable wagons of ammonition, cannon ball shots cartrege shot, gun powder &c. they came to Tranent and spread in the grownds between that and Cockenie. The Prince was in the Abby of Holiroodhows and his Heighland gang spread in Sant An's yeards and towards the brea face or brow of the descent under Salesburg. The Prince had read his demand upon the town on Wednesday September 18, 1000 tents each to hold 6 men, pans for readying ther victwals 6000, and shoes and stokings. It was good plaids were not asked. Owr gallant generall sends them a chalange to face him in the open field the trumpet returns. This night or towards morning the Castle threw some bombs and colveren shells into ther camp and did some execution. Among many ministers of Edinburgh had fled to the Castle was Mr Alexander Wabster, and his servant was so treacherows as to run off befor to the

rebells, and informe of the design of throwing the bombes, and insolently sent to his master for his weages telling his howse showld be plundered unless he had them. September 19, they were so alarmed with the rude salute of the Castle they marched owt and it was thowght the Prince was not safe in the palace; they marched with great speed and came up with the K[ing's] little armie soon aneowgh. On Fryday the 20, when they were gon, the ministers of Edinburgh and all the useles hands turned owt of the Castle. The Highlanders had marched in two divisions from Musleburg and fixed one a rising grownd sowthward above Tranent. It was said they consisted of 1000, as good men as are in Europe, 1000 indiferent good and 1400 good for nothing old men, shepherds, and boys, the Kings Own showd curage by huzaing and forwardness to attack them. The Prince's men some of them were ordered down to ane old church yeard dyke or some walls near

Tranent, but owr field pices dislodged them. Infatwation is a strange thing. Owr generall in his great wisdom thowght fitt not to attack them, but formed his battell and stood, under armes all Frayday night. The enimie's leaders had more conduct and stratagem and better intelegence. The forme of battell was the foot in the center flanked by the field artilery eight on each syde, and the horse one each wings, and a trowp of dragowns behind the cannon, the Prince had intelegence of all this, but poor Cope had no intelegence all night. The rebell were wiser than to attack in front such a disposition with a body of reserve, and a great many gentlemen, some noblemen and many Presbiterian ministers. They, the rebells, marched in the silence of the night down to the seasyde near Cockenie and befor day, or in the twealight, marched up upon the flank of the Kings armie. They marched 3 men abreast up some corenstuble grownd in a long train and than turnd or wheeled

abowt to make a front. They came on with furiows precipitation. This disconcerted all the poor generalls fyne disposition and he was in surprize and confusion, the canon was turnd and gave 2 or three discharges but they wheeled and formed. The Highland troups battell came on so furiowsly that in a moment they were in sword in hand. The dragowns run off at the first fyer. Some of Gardener's men advanced abowt 15 or 16 but that was the most. The foot stood after the horse were gon, but ther was no orders from the generall what to doe, and all went soon to confusion. The trowpes of horse behind to gwarde the artilery never advanced to defend them, and the Highlander came up and seased them and the pultrown Irish fled. The rebells turned the Kings cannon upon us but were slow in charging and not good marksmen with great guns. Cope had the gunners of the *Fox* man of war and a good ingeniows mathematic master Richard Jack for his

artilery men, but he lost artilery, amonition, and all, and it may be fittly called the Chase of Cockenie or Tranent reither than the battell, for never deers run faster befor hownds than these poor betrayed men run befor a rabbell. Disiplined they were, but had no head and no confidence in there leaders. They were surprised in the twelight by men came on with a resolut rage. 'Tis said the reserve gwards the noblemen and gentlemen call upon the dragowns flying called owt 'treachery, treachery.' To doe justice to a few there were some companys of foot with a few horse stood some time to it near Cockenie, but these were soon overpowered and estrayed among inclosures. The Chase continowed and many fell. It is thowght in the time of the short resistance more of the wilde men were killed than of owrs, for the cannon did some execution, but we sustained a great loss in the flight by the agility of these mowntaneers. Poor Cope (I can scarce

give credit to it but evry on says it) fled in to the *Fox* man of war in the Firth. I can scarce give credit that owr brave generall Sir John with his Bath rid ruband wowld turne admerall. It was a melancholy schen. Brave men lost, perhaps by the treachery of some, and surely by the bad conduct of a commander who was surprised first in the Heighlands and made a narow escape, and fattaly douped in this melancholy chase. Poor Collonell Gardener one of the best men and experienced officers was lost. It is said he was against the generall's disposition but the good man was in so bad a state of health he cowld not have lived long, and few if any in the military were so much in a habitwall preparation for death as he, they have lost some of less valow, but some of there good men. This skirmish in the twealight covered the cowardice of many, for some of the men the rebells had forced owt deserted them to the number of some 100^{s} and were

strugling early throw Pentland hils. Owr dragowns it can never be known in the duskishness of the morning whither the officers were treacherows as there men were cowherds and there horse raw and unmanaged, for it is certain, in the wheeling, the horse on the wings did the first execution and trod down and distressed and confused owr foot some of owr dragowns with there horses, all in fro' and foame, to show the fright, were seen near Edinburgh and taking to the hills by eight a clock, Saturday, the 21 of September, and some of them came earlier to the Castle gate, and some of the Higland foot had deserted were disarmed at Achendinie, and said they had been prest men and had no licking to the cawse. It seems strange that Cope disarmed the King's forces of their most usefull wapon against Highlanders, and when they marched north he ordered all there swords to be laid up in Stirling Castle, so that at the time of ingaging not one of them had a sword; they had

not there bagenets screwed when they were attacked, and non to give the word of command. Two of Copes aidecamps wer in the Castle at 9 o'clock in the morning. There was a great slawghter in the chase and many prisoners taken abowt eighty officers and 1300 or 14 private men. The Prince trod the field and sent to Edinburgh for surgions to cure the wownded. The generall is gott to Bervick with disgrace. The Highlanders had not all there force ingag'd, they say only abowt 1700 procured this totall rowt. This was a melancholy day to those that love peace and qwiet for the Highlanders returned towards Edinburgh. The Prince lay at Pinkey house on Saturday night, and came to the Palice on Sabath evening with bagpips playing, and the body of the armie remained at Dudeston. The Castle had given them some disturbance by some bombs thrown in to ther campe made them keep this distance. The Prince wowld alow no rejoicing for this victory, and

there was a proclamation to this effect, but returning heaven thanks for there success. There was ane incident in the streat of Edinburgh the day of the battell. One Olephant of Gask came owt of the Writers Cowrt hearing that 4 dragowns were flying up the streat to the Castle, and demanded them to dismownt. Two did, but seing but one man they took heart and fyred there pistols and if the blow had not been diverted had cutt Gask down they went off to the Castle hill.

Edinburgh had a silent Sabbath, September 22, there was no sermon but at West Church,* which is just in the eye of the Castle.

September 23, a proclamation was emitted, granting protection &c. to cowntry

* The Rev. Mr M'Vicar prayed there: 'Bless the King: Thou knows what King I mean; may the crown sit long easy on his head, &c. And for this man that is come amongst us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech Thee, in mercy, to take him to Thyself and give him a crown of glory.'—Ray's *History*, p. 53.

houses, but with a strange clawse in the end of it. The same day ane other against rejoisings with a clawse of thanks-giving and offering protection to ministers of the gospell in there functions, and a third proclamation of indemnity to volunteers, but with and under such conditions as few will accept. This was published September 24.

Wednesday, September 25, I went to town most of the zelows inhabitants were fled. Highlanders with guns and swords stragling here and there and evrywhere; abowt 5 or 600 had come up and more were expected. Some are allowed to goe home with there bagage and a strong detachment is sent to Glasgow, and are to demand or leavie contribution from that town and all the other lesser towns in proportion. This citie has answered the demand for 1000 tents. I saw parte go in cartes for Dudeston escorted by a Higland detachment with bagpipes and collowrs. They are to forme there camp there, and are pruffing with the artilery

Cope threw away and learning I suppose to manage a field train, for I heard them all the rode as I came home fyring the cannon. The Prince keeps open Cowrt and is forming personall gairds. I saw at Nether Bow a good many of the King's soldiers that have listed with them and have white cocades which is the badge of that gange. I saw old Stirling of Keir* at the Cross with his white cockad, and Mr Smith of Bulin† who was out 1715, walking with him; but he has since gott ane estate by the wine tread in France, and has not distingwished himself by white cocade. The officers are all liberat upon parroll they wer at first all put in D[uke] of Qwenesbery's howse in Cannongate. The common soldiers ar closs confined in

* James Stirling of Keir was 'out' in 1715.

† Charles Smith of Boulogne. Died, aged 80, 25th August 1768; married, Barbara, daughter of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn. He obtained a protection from the Old Chevalier 9th November 1740 (Rouvigny's *Jacobite Peerage*), and was much mixed up in Jacobite plots.

Cannonget prison, and in the Church. The Princes men have the town gwaird and they make gward at the Wighows neir church and Nether Bow, and have sentries at the tolboth and other places they think proper. They ar to have shoes stockings and water cantons from the town of Edinburgh. As I went to town I heard on the way that they had been in sarch of such as had disarmed some of there straglers particularly at Bow Bridge on my rod; they had tyed a fellow neck to heel and were to carry him off under pretext of this crime but he redeemed him self by paying 20 shillings. They went to Straiton mill and took free qwarter and some money. If all the clans come up as is talked they will eate up this poor place if they continow long here.

One September 25, being the last Wedensday of the month and the presbetery day, some ministers conveened, in the Society of Propogation there publick hall, to concerte what to doe. They had

seen the Prince's proclamation and sent a message to Lord Provost. His answer was that he had no awthority nor cowld act under any, but that he had conversed severalls and from these understood that no minister was to be trowbled for what was done in the church. The bells had rung on the 22, morning and midd-day but no minister nor congregation appeared; they are to act in harmony and resolve not to pray in ambigwows generall termes as the Jacobit Episcopal clargie have long done, but either explicitly as uswall formerly or to [o]mett praying for the Goverment al togither, but they have appointed ane other metting this September 26—the result is non ar to preach Sabbath, September 29.

September 26, the ministers unanimowsly resolved there showld be no publick worshep on Sabath 29 of September. The Cannonget kirk is full of prisoners and they have done considerable damage in it by spoylling the seats the rest of ther prisoners are in the tennes-cowrt and

in the prisons. They allow the poor fellows but one penny a day for mentinence and talk of carrying them into captivity to Blair of Atholl in the Highlands; the Prince to seem generows sends them some small gratuity of bread and drink.

The *Fox* man of war interups ther passage boats allowing non to pass but such as have Generall Preston's pass. A message was sent that he wowld allow the Kings subjects to pass and repass to Fyfe that were sent by the Prince or Duke of Perth. He gave a rowgh answer that if the Prince or Duke of Perth or any of there gang came in his way he wowld give them a pass for hell.

It was strang in Provost Stewart at 11 at night, September 16, to send for Mr Webster, minister of Edenburgh, after they had agreed to surrender the town and the volunteers had given there muskets in to the Castle, and propose that he and the volunteers showld take

up armes and capitulat sword in hand. Mr Webster said this was of a pice with the rest of the vilanows contryvance or words to that purpose. When Bailie Gavin Hamilton waited on the Prince at Colington he asked what was come of the armes? Hamelton answered that the towns armes were in there gaird and magasin, but the volenteer armes in the Castle. He showd displeaswr, but Hamilton answered that the volunteer armes belonged to the Castle so it was thowght the Provost was for the volunteers resuming the Kings armes, and as, he said, to capitulat sword in hand, but it was suspected this was to betray them and there armes into the rebells hands. Ane other odd conduct was that the Moonday night, befor the surrender, Generall Preston detached a party from his garison to naile or carry off the canon from the walls. The officer had the command was Major Roberton's sone. He sent to the provost for allowance to come into his jurisdiction. In his dilatory way he said

he must have this from the Generall himself, upon which he sent up and the Generall told him the party marched by his order, and he and Generall Ghest were of opinion he showld ludge the gaird armes and towns magazin in the Castell; but Lord Provost absolutely refused this or to allow them to enter to cary off or spoyll the cannon on the city walls.

There passed us at Woodhowslea on there way to Linton the Prince's Secretary Murray of Brughton in his way to Linton in Twedell with a party mownted one Collonell Gardener's dragoon horse. The occasion was Brughton's lady was comming to town escorted by some Higland gan[g] Mr Charles Hope of Craigehall his servant was in the inns at Linton and this lady, who is dawghter to Collonel Ferguson who was one of the flamingest Williamit whiges, so far is gon into the spirit of the gang. She ordered Mr Hope's two horses to be secured in the stable and his servant searched and he

had upon him some valowable juels and 1000. *ll.* in money and nots all which was seased and her husband has come owt to convoy in this treaswr.

Mr Thomas Fairholme his book keeper in his cownting rowme has left him and put on the badge of the disorderly time and wrote his master ane insolent letter for 5 *ll* he pretended to want of his weages, which was sent to him directly. many servants have practised this and insulted there masters, particularly Mr Webster's servant the minister of Edinburgh. It is strange that John Traile, bookseller,* who disgwised himself under a strick cloack of sanctitie and dispersed the Whitfild Methodist papers and piows packeds has declared for those disorders, but his cowsin Sir James Stewart† was

* In the Parliament Close.

† Of Goodtrees (or Gutters), 1712–80; married Lady Frances Wemyss, sister of Lord Elcho. His sister, Agnes Steuart, was wife of Henry David, Lord Cardross. Their grandmother, Lady Steuart, was Agnes, daughter of Mr Robert Traill, minister of Edinburgh.

his ludger and Lady Fanny Stewart is in his howse with her husband. It is ane insult upon common sence Sir James his practise, he has been ane oppen tool and now that the Prince is come he, Sir James of Gutters, and Lord Cardros whom he has seduced, ar under arrest by the Prince as is pretended and owt upon paroll; they shall not leave the place so long as the Prince is here.

Severall of the new cocad gentlemen have chainged there dress into the Highland habit. Such strange phynomina appear upon this success. One knows not whom to trust for men partie the prevailing interest here other things might have been expected from them. Hard by the field of action they rifled Collonell Gardener's cowntry howse and abused it. Mr Nisbet, surgeon, has his howse at the end of Preston town, they came in upon him. He offered them a glass of wine and refreshment but they held a pistol or two to his breast and threatned. The old man tooke of his wifes watch

and rings and gwted his howse and they served the minister of Trenent in the same sawse. After as they will have it called ther victory at Gladsmuir they did many such.

The Highlanders goe owt a marroding and spoyll the cowntrie. They had come to Lord Somervell's howse of Drum, and frighted the minister under the notion he had been with Cope and beat him with there swords. They took Mr Gordon for my Lord's sone. Lord Sommervell gave them money and twrned them off but when on Wedensday, September 25, they retwrned he had given his tennants and colers* a signall by ringing the howse bell they conveened and oposed them and kiled two, but the Highlanders killed as many of them and wownded one. My Lord compleaned to Lord George Murray and he told they had no awthority and wished he had cawse dispach them all that came in that shape. Next night

* Colliers.

they spoyled the tennants at Swanston. They went in and complained to the Prince and he said he wowld cawse heng them had done the injury if they wowld poynt them owt.

Mr Balenton's two dawghters and Grissell fled from Edinburgh. They told us Sabath, September 29, some white cockad gentlemen came and frighted the meeting at sermon there the end of afternoon sermon for the Castle threatned to fyer, and all the people were in confusion. The occasion of there qwitting Edinburgh was that the Highlanders stope the communication of Edinburgh with the Castle and keep gward at Weighhowse and in Twrnpickis in Castlehill the Generall sent to the Prince to complain and he refuses to remove his gairds so there was warning given that the Castle was to fyre down the streets, and evry one was flying to the cowntrie they may demolish the weighowse and perhaps drope bombs upon the streat if not open a vew to the cross by

knocking down Luckenbothes under pretext of a story that two officers had contrair parole given gon to the Castle and returned they have carryed off so many of the officers in six or seven coaches. I hear they have spoyled all the gentlemens seats in East Lothian and the gentlemen had fled. They cached Will Sandelands of Eastbarens and browght him in prisoner till he pay 30 *ll.* in name of cess. These ar perhaps but the beginings of evell. The Prince is resolut and wowld have all fall befor him, but as Captain Baver of the *Fox* man of war said, Who that has a drope of British blood in his wame can befreind a Popish Prince with a manefesto dated at Roome? Glasgow it is said gave 5000 *ll* and some tartans &c. they have lett owt the town sisteren in Castle hill, and the watter runs down the streats.

The order for the Castle fyring down the town had come to Cragie, Cope, and Dundas; that is to owr Advocat, owr

Generall, and owr Solisitor, at Bervick upon Tweed, for these gentlemen ar now in garison these had keeped the warrant signed by owr Secretary the Marqwis of Tweedal at London, and forwarded a copie to Generals Preston, Gwest, and Fowx now in the Castle and attested it, but these generalls demurred and only gave the alarme which occasioned the hubbub and rwning owt of town and they have demolished a frontire solitary howse built by Allan Ramsy on the north skirt of the hill. This howse was called the mungerall burluescke poet* Ramsie's goos paye it resembling such a figure,† and upon pretext of the Highlanders nestling abowt it and throwing up trinshes and ther demolishing the town cisteren of water that stood near it; this howse is laid in rubish the mattrasses or guners sent from the towr demolished it with some 8 or 10 cannon shot this

* Ramsay was a Jacobite.

† The 'goose-pie' is now occupied by Ramsay Lodge.

was done October 1, 1745, abowt 5 at night and small shott discharged att the same time. The Castle sent off ane express September 30 for positive orders and are to have ane answer in 6 days, as to the fait of the city by fyring down the streats. By this demolishing they have made Lochiall Cameron is said to be wounded who was the politest man of the partie and for softer measwrs, but had foolishly said he wowld surprise the Castle with a 120 men, but he and some of his Cameron trybe ar killed in the rowing of Ramsies Goospye howse. My nighbowr Syme was frighted by some country men his mear and his demeepicke sadle he thowght in hazard, coming from town, by some strolling Highlanders October 1., but it was only two cowntry men jocked him and in the darke bid him dismownt.

The Castle continowed fyring October 2. and killed severall Heighlanders one destracted fellow, a gardener, was shot

for not answering when 3 times called to passing under the sowth syde of the Castle. Some ball were shot down the streat aimed as was thowght near the tolboth gait where ar severals of the gang. It passed throw two of the churches. This crew is all over infesting East Lothian and the gentlemen fled they now demand payment from the new bank of there notts they have, and threaten military execution on the governors. Perhaps Cope's military chist and much of the 5000 *ll* they had from Glasgow is in this coyn. The Castle powrs down small shott from muskets and pertreg shot* from the cannon when any of them dars peep owt. 'Tis said Lochiell was behind some howse in the hill and the fall or flying of some stons hurt his showlder. 'Tis not safe being in Lawn or Grassmarkets, I saw a musket ball was battered upon the stons in Grassmarket and a gentleman missed it narrowly.

* 'Paitrick'—i.e. partridge shot.

October 3 I went to town this day, saw the fyring upon Liviston yeard hows it is demolished, and the Highlanders disludged. They had gott into West kirk too and the ministers escaped they thowght to have seased them and did ring the bell twise for Thursday week-day sermon. All the 40 or 50 cannon shott and the rapps of small armes is to keep a comunication for provisions to the Castle, and the Prince has sworen death to any come or goe from it, and placarded his orders publickly. Constant allarmes were given the Castell in conseqwence of a resolution taken at Holy-roodhows to cutt of all comunication, as the Prince called it, betuext the Castle and owr Capitall and this was fixed at the Cross on the gaits by Cadie Byers, and at all ports but the West Port wher I advised the Cadie not to go for fear of the Castle when he gave me my copie at Bristo Port, but Byers put it wp evrywhere else where the playhows bills use to be affixed. There followed

this fyring great guns demolishing and burning howses in Livistons yeard upon the Castle hill, and fyring down the streat October 3, 4, 5, 6, and many of the Prince's party killed and some inocent persons [who] did not keep owt of the way. Some days above 60 cannon shot a day and muskets withowt number, volys, platoon shot, and droping shots as they hoped to do execution. The Prince had emited ane advertisment for a contribution of 2sh. 6d. upon the pound sterling of reall rent laid one by 32, added with the stent masters to tax the citie this collection was to comence October 7. On Saturday October 6 the garison sallyed owt and catched Pitcarle's sone, Taylor the shoemaker,* and some prisoners, and twrned owt Michell Elpheston and his familie that

* Robert Taylor afterwards served as captain in the Jacobite army. He was tried and condemned to death, but reprieved for his humanity to the wounded at Prestonpans.—Macbeth Forbes's *Jacobite Gleanings*, pp. 14–17.

belonged to the story, upon suspition. In ane other sally they cast a trinch in the midle of Castle hill and drove off the Highlanders and came down to the Weigh howse and fyred down the Lanmarket and killed a man at the stair oposit to the end of Luckenboths. I had been in town October 3 and seen this fyring and Mr McVicker* did preach at West Church that day when all the fyring was in Liviston yeards. I went in October 4 and stayed all night with Thoma in owr howse in Lanmarket, above the old Bank Closs. The Castle thundered till 11 or 12 at night. I saw them demolish a hows in Castle hill. Saturday the 5 was the hottest work to escort there provisions. The Highlanders stood lyning the north syde of Lanmarket the soldyers from there trinch shot down the Lanmarket and I with danger gott down from my closs to Libertons waynd head and saw a treadsman in a blew frock had been just shot lying his brains

* Rev. Neil M'Vicar. Died 29th January 1747.

dashed owt and in his blood. He had been peeping by a fore stair and was killed forgenst the west end Loocken-booths north syde the High Streat. I went to Cannongate to Mr Blair's, Thoma essayed to return to owr howse and came to Libertone Waynd head, but ball were going so throng he durst not adventur. The Castle gott up there barrels of ale and provisions up the Castle Waynd than retired to ther trinch and so to the garison, and abowt twelve Thoma with hazard gott in to owr howse and secured owr windows. This night I hear the great guns fyred and demolished parte of the Weigh howse, and we hear the Prince has agreed to allow communication with the Castle for provisions. This was a melancholy shean this streat battell, all shops shut, evry body scared off the streats except here and ther. One skulking and runing the Cowget full of cartes with plenishing and so at Nether Bow and all down the Cannonget; had this continowed the Prince

his exorbitent tax cowld not be gott lavied.

Mr Hews Blair and Balentin went from Woodhowslea to Curry Church and Mrs Jerdan * told them how her husband was maltrate at Lord Somervell's howse of Drum. A party in drink came to the hows and look in at the windows. Lord and Lady Somervell fled up to the garrets. Mr Jerden came owt. They said he was the dragown [who] had been with Cope, mistaking him for Lord Somervell's sone, they beat him with the brodsyd of ther swords, &c. he gave them a gwinee and they tryed to see if it was good and then went off. Somervell had agreed with the neightbowrhood to ring a bell upon any alarme and next night some strollers were passing by Gilmerton they were asked where they were going and upon some words passed the Highlanders fyred and killed two men. the Gilmerton

* Jean, daughter of George Drummond, commissioner of excise, late Lord Provost, wife of the minister of Liberton.

men purswed and killed 3 of them, and the rest escaped. At Curry they keep a gwaird to give the alarme, and 10 of these creturs were strolling. When they aproched the gard gave the alarme and all the village was in motion. When they came up they called at a howse if ther was any meat or drink to be had and were answered yes, but for money, and when they saw abowt 30 or 40 men they were so civill as to call owt godsen to yow freinds and the vilagers in tawnting way asked them 'what gars the Castle fyer'? and the Highlanders replyed 'gang and see, freinds.' I here, on Saturday, Taylor was turned owt of the Castle, being wownded. He was one of the Prince's volunteers and had promised with others in 10 days to surprise the Castle or be within it and he was surprised at Liveston yeards and caried into it.

Mr Matheson minister of Edinburgh *

* Rev. John Mathison of the High Kirk. Died 8th November 1752.

preched for Mr Mowbry minister at Currie and used railing and abuseive langwage against the Prince and his Highlanders, this was carryed to the Princes levee on Moonday and I heare it was said they might preach as they pleased and pray for the devill; he, the Prince, wowld not now medle with them. No sober people approve Matheson's conduct.

I think strang of owr triming Lord Provost that he showld have avowedly declared that John Forrest, late treaswrer of Edinburgh and his own co-partner in tread, was so obnoxiows to him that if the Councill had any regaird for him they wowld not put Forest in leet for baillie.

This day Thoma is gon in with Hews Blair and Balentin and two Miss Balentins * to town.

Mr Hewgh Blair preached afternoons

* Katherine, daughter of the Rev. James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, married, in 1748, her cousin, the Rev. Hugh Blair, D.D.

sermon one Mr Mowbry's desire at Curry church; browght no railing accusation but preched the Gospell, and in prayer only named the Goverment and prayed little more than what we have by example of the angel Michaell, the Lord rebook the Sathan, or in such terems against owr enimies.

Severall parties from the Highlands joyned them this first week of October. They have contracted with two beakers in Cannongate for 20,000 weight of bisket, and given the beakers 3 or 400 bolls of wheit owt of Winton's forfalted estate which is seqwestrat by the Prince for the use of the publick. William Alexander marchant his wines are seased that were detained for tryell, and they are to examin the affair and acqwit or condem by there club law. I hear they make large magazins of hay at Jocks Lodge on the way to Musleburgh and this is Major Gardner's hay from his howse at Olevstobb.

These strollers have been one all hands

of us at Boghall north from Woodhowslea they breakfast with the Grintons and sowth at Howget they took free qwarter with Charles Straiton. We are surrownded with danger of the gang but as yet they have not beat up owr qwarters the last two places they visited October 7, and robed James Lees of 10^{d} worth bread this October 8, but his sone escaped bringing owt owr things from town of 100 times the vallow this Tewsday October 8, 1745.

John Hay writer, sone of Mr Alexander Hay, writer, went at the head of that party demanded contribution from Glasgow and browght in the 5000 *ll.* and I am certainly informed John Trail, bookseler, went to the Abbie and kissed the Prince's hand.

This is a reign of proclamations advertisements and of lones forced by a parcell (as Rymer's prophecies calls them) wandring wasters. I hear Blackfoord his lady met Prince Charles when he passed her howse with a bottle or glass of good

wine and has since been to kiss his hands at Court. This is to far for honest George Liviston's daughter, but Collonel Ferguson's dawghter has gon further. Archibald Broun of Blackfoord took a protection from the Prince but a party under ane officer seased and carryed off two of his horses since he had this.

George Balentin, minister of Craigie * in Airshire, came to us to see his freinds left his horse at Woodhowslea and walked to town afoot. He went down to Mr Blair's in Cannonget and was detained supper; and passing at Nether Bow Port with his great freise ryding coat the Highland gaird did not stop him but it struck on Lumbsden a sone of Lumsden the writer and grandchild to the Episcopall minister and a volunteer with his white cocad and his sword under his arme. It struck Lumsden in the head that Mr Balantin was a spye and he follows him

* Son of Mr James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, afterwards minister of the West Church, Glasgow. Died 9th September 1769.

up and chalanges him, and reqwirs him to go to the Gwaird. Owr freind George walks on with him and askes if he had any warrant to carry him to the gwaird. Lumsden said he had not upon this Balenten, seeing him a yowng lad licke a beau and that no Highland men were in vew, snaches his sword from under his arme and Lumbsden runs off and calls owt, but Georg being near Cant's Close head, where his fathers howse was, goes streight home, in a little come a strong detachment of Highlanders. Mr Balentin took the alarme and the howse being up two pair of stairs he tyed the sheets of the bed to ane easie chare and goes owt at the window and escapes. In his droping the window he hit upon Mrs Ferguson's window who lives below and brock the glass. She called owt in surprise to her servants that all the Highlanders were entering her howse by the window, and the Highland gaird hearing this alarme in her howse came in to the Secretary's lady's mother's howse and saw

the sheets hung and cut off as far as they cowld reach. Mr James Balentin's servant keepet his door closse, but they gott a smith and forced it and when they came in they said they belived he was fled they sowght for but they wanted the sword. They searched but fownd it not and did no more harme. The minister of Craigie went to one Mr Jerdan's howse the minister of Liberton's brother and stayed all night and next day, and left the silver hilted sword to be returned to the gentleman and came owt under clowd of night to us at Woodhouslea, and next morning took his horse and went off for his chairge at Craigie. This Lumbsden is a yowng lad and writes under Secretary John Murray of Brughton, at his office in the Abby, and thowght himself much affronted to be thus disarmed. The story is full of comicall incidents but it was rash and unadvised in Balentin, for Lumbsden might have had a pistol and fyred upon them or had some Highlanders in call to fyer down the Waynd befor he gott

off for it was clear moonlight Michelmas moon.

When the Castle demolished the west end of the Wighhowse the Highland gaird there took up in Mr Logan's the minister's howse in Milns Sqware. The servant opened the doors of such rowms as she had keys, but they brok in to closets and demolished the doors, and have now left the howse. Mr Logan and his lady and familie are fled to Mrs Irvin ther freind's hows at Newton in Clydsdale in Crawford John paroch. This occasions many inconveniencies and much disorder.

The camp at Dudeston was provided in tents by the poor town of Edinburgh; and to reimburse all these expences of tents shoes and broges &c. the inhabitants are taxed at 2sh. 6d. per pownd sterling of there reall rent quhich commenced the collecting it October 7. But the Highland host are unwilling to lye incamped in tents and choose reither to ly in 100 in barens and weast howses and this perhaps to have occasion to make

excurtions in the night for plunder and robery. They robed some butchers on owr Linton rod and last night came to Bread Howse and took all they cowld lay hands upon from Mrs Brown, and October 12, came this rod and did all disorders of plunder and robry that lawless wandring wasters (such they ar) cowld doe. At Corsehowse at the Dysters, at the foord of Glencorse water, they took cloath and all. They knocked at the ministers but got not in. Abowt 20 of them returned to the Howgate and took free qwarter at Charles Straton's, hade all his bapes and ale put one a large fyer, and drunk a bottle of whiscke, went in to the weedow woman Brown's and spoyled her howse. This marrading by such worse then hussars strikes a terror all rownd but (thank God) we have not had this dismall visitation fall to our share as yet.

October 14, we ar in a state of intestin war. A camp of Highlanders dayly incressing and within 4 miles of us strolers

pilfering everywhere, and this day we had ane alarme that numbers were on the road and neigh at hand. Evrything was hurryed owt of the way into holls and boors, beds dismantled and what not adoe. Thow Lord art owr protection and owr sheild in owr poor hyred sheeld of Woodhowslea.

October 15 last night they took two horses from Archibald Inglish of Achendiny* in owr neightbowrhead. A mile and half distance they came to Brunsfield Mr Warrander gave wine and they went off to Weedow Lady Mercheston and spoyled her of all, but what I have well attested they sent to Lady Strathnaver for 12 dozen napry for the Prince's use. The Lady sent word to Secretary Murry all was in the Castle but a few cowrses for her own use but this did not satisfie. They sent a Highland gwarde she cowld not understand, and

* Advocate, Clerk of the Court of Admiralty. Died 2nd April 1754; married 1740, Jean, daughter of John Philp of Greenlaw.

she was forsed to quit what she had. This gratiows Prince has many proclamations, manefestos, and declarations, but he will keep them as his grandfather did if he is trusted.

October 16, ther were 60 of the crew came owt in the fornon owr Linton rod, and spread themselves in parties they came to Bow Bridge, and gulravished in the publick hows. They came to Pentland and Straton and plundered, and a partie came to Fulford and took what they cowld lay hands one. They payed us a visite and I met 24 of them withowt the entrie and asked what they came for, they answered in sarch of armes. I told if that was ther orders two or three of them might go in and the rest might have meat and drink we agreed on this and 4 went in, but armes was the least they minded. They asked money; I gave them 5 shillings. They wowld have had a gwinee. They are artefull theeves for they had there spyes on the hills and rysing grownd and saw

the mercier carry some linings and put under the hay, and when I was in the howse they rwn abowt and took of the linings two tablecloths 9 sheets (?) and aprons and other small linings, and put under there plaids they run throw the gardin and beat the evergreens for concealed things and went throw all the planting and fownd owt Hew Ballentin and took 5 and sixpence off him. I thowght myself well off had as I thowght gott rid of the gang, for 5 sh. and some bread and drink but knew not what they had theeved. They randevouzed the back of Fullford Howse upon the hill syde and divided the spoyll and had a sqwable and drawing swoords abowt it they marched to Leeps to James Pennecook, got what they cowld, than down to the highway and there fownd Mr Mowbry and his family on the road and attacked the coach. He gave them money beyond Boghall, but he had a second sqwad to satisfie at Lowdonburne. It seems upon the disorders

committed Mr Alexander Lockhart advocat from Craighows was going in to the Abby to remonstrat, but these mett him by the way and spunge him of 2 shillings all he had. It is said he went and orders were given for a party of 200 to goe and apprehend them and apprehended they were and things taken from them. The less vallowable were left at Mortonhall but the vallowable carryed forward to the Abby, I sent, but owr linings were not at Mortonhall and owr servant is gon on to Edinburgh. Thus the noble Prince his armie doe, but what better the Prince than a pilferer and a captain of robers and theeves? He demands 300 ston hay and 60 bolls oats from Newbiging, under the penalty of burning Barron Clerk's howse* there. His dawghter has ordered in parte of the hay and the rest to be sent, and

* Adjacent to Penicuik House, it was the seat of Sir John Clerk, Baron of Exchequer. He and his wife fled to England, leaving the house in charge of his daughter Babe. — *Memoirs: Scottish History Society.*

the tennants are thrashing owt the oats to prevent being distressed. I did sumpathise with the destressed abroad I did so with those at home upon this occasion but now I have seen there faces and ther way I dowbly sumpathise tho I cannot say we have got so much mischife and harme as others, and had not the women exposed thing[s] by cowering thing [*sic*, i.e. them] with hay (?) in there vew we had escaped better. He that was there leader had the impudence to aske me if I had a protection tho he showed no warrant for what he did in seeking armes.

But what all these transient storys to what happens in East Lothian and all rownd hevy demand and this but the begining of sorrow for the rowen of owr cowntry is threatned. Spanish and French force said to be coming. We hear the ship taken with armes and money at Bristoll has the Pretenders 2d sone Edward Benedict on bord. It is said George Lockhart of Carenwath is appre-

hended at Bervick as he was going into England. His sone George has joyned the Prince; may he have many such little worth sqwires this sumer. He made ane attemp to breck into a hows and comitt a rapp and was scared and chased owt at the roof, the way he entered, and he had fled Oxfoord for game detts and is now commenced volunteer with white cockade.

Lord Lowdon, who was at the batell of Preston field with Cope, has gott North, and he with Lord Precedent is raising the whig clans Campbels, Grants, McKyes &c. and will be able to make a divertion and hinder more from coming up from the North to Dudeston camp. I wish it were trow that were write me that 2000 of his magestys forces had stoll a march the west road to secure the pass at Stirling Bridge. These particulars were write me October 17, the day the Parliament was to meet at Westminster for buseness.

October 18, ther had a partie passed this way to Nidsdale and browght along

with them the Lord Maxwell sone to the late Earl of Nidsdale. He is maried to a dawghter of late Earl of Traqware. He passed this day the Howgate, where a servant of his spoken and told his master had ill will to leave his howse and he knew not what he wowld doe.

Capten McNeile, who was owr neightbowr at Fullford last season, is gon with his familie to Mrs Camerons lodgings at Glencorse and is carried in to wait on the Prince. He was ane officer or captan of the Highland Regement, but excused his going to Flanders upon indisposition and was ordered to sett owt. He seems not to be bloody minded but lived qwietly with his mistres and child in hyndroumes in the farme howse at Fulfoord and recreate himself in hay harvest work. How he will now determin himself is dowtfull, but having him will be no grand acqwisition. The Captain came drunk from town after giving his paroll he will not use armes against the Prince.

Moonday October 21, we had a new

alarme of Highlanders. Captain Stewart and his party with Liftenant Stewart came in search of armes. They came with a party of 16 and were civill. Mrs Philp* and her Higland gward, one Stewart, payed us a visit October 22, these are all civill and protect the cowntry she told us how rude Anderson of Whitburgh† had been to her dawghter in taking away Mr Ingles his horses, which he has not gott again, and now ther is ane order for evry plow to furnishe a carte and two horses. The demand on Barron Clerk is 3000 ston hay and some straw and 73 bols coren,‡

* Sophia Robertson, wife of John Philp of Greenlaw.

† Robert Anderson, younger of Whitburgh, one of the general quarter-masters of the Jacobite army.

‡ Sir John Clerk writes, 'when the Highland parties came they were civilly used, and so committed no disorders about the house, except that they eated and drank all they cou'd find, and called for everything as they thought fit, for they lookt on themselves to be the masters of all the country.' He says the impositions on his estate were 6000 stone of hay and 76 bolls of oats, his share being about £200 sterling (*Memoirs*, p. 188), and that all his horses of any value were carried off to England.

all this shows they think of moving and that the Kings armie is approching. Mrs Philp has three Stewarts, Appen men, her gard de corps at Greenlaw, she had them at Glencors Church with her on Sunday, and Mr Wilson prayed more then ordinar in his Whig way. She did us the fawour to wisit at Woodhowslea in a chese with one of her Stewarts ryding in armes by her. They were civil, this was October 22, and on the October 23, came the theeving gang 11 of them. I knewe some of them by eye sight had been former visit. We had sent of to Greenlaw and readely came Hewgh Stewart and the other two Mrs Philp's captains, but the rogwes gott off throw the tulls from Castlelaw and as they went along fyred and wownded the sheep upon Leeps hill, but got non of them. Carenwath's brother Philip Lockhart followed them up owr avenew and spok them cavelierly, and we gave these rowgs milk and bread and had no harme, but it was the same gang had stoll owr linings.

This October 24, 'tis said Prince Charles has fixed his headqwarters at Dalkeith in Duck Balclwghs howse or palace there. I hear now he only comes and goes betwix this and the Abby.

October 25, two of Greenlaw gward Donald and John Stewarts* came and dined with us. Donald is a strong man seems past midle age, the other I gwess to be past 36 by a story he told of his being sheering at Lochen with Sir John Warrander abowt twenty years agon, and that Sir John was to have retained him for his servant. He said he had been this expedition at Dunbar and browght in William Sandelands prisoner. They gave us accownt of ane accident happened at the howse of Shank. Lord Elches† lives ther, and Captain Stewart from Roslen went to that hows in qwest of

* Probably Donald Stewart, brewer in Tycharan in Appin, and John Stewart, brewer in Creganich, Lismore Isle, both serjeants in the 'Rebel Army.'—'List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion,' *Scottish History Society*, pp. 288–89.

† Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, died 1754.

armes, and when at 12 diner all the party were in the kitchen ane idle fellow Clerk a servant in the hows was handling the fyre armes and drew the tricker of a pistoll. It went off and shot one of the Highlanders throw the head. All the others got up and had cutt the poor servant in pieces but the Captan getting up from diner came in and called who had killed the man. The servant owned it was he by accident, so the Captan restrained the fury of the others said he was his prisoner and sent him in under gward to be tryed at the Abby. We had the East Lothian story of the miser they took 800 pownds from. He was shilling peas when they came in and wowld give them nothing, but was so cairfull as to pick up a peas or two [which] had falen; but they searched and hitt upon all his money. They said his nephew and Hew, a young lad in Edinburgh, was called befor the Prince and he has the Princes obligation to repay him the sum but withowt annualrent, when he

is possessd of his kingdom. We can have no news but such as the Princes folks think fit to allow to be published. Ther is a report that the Grants are up and yowng Grant at the head of 1300 men, and that Sir Alexander McDonald and his men have joynd the Goverments freinds in the North. Earl of Lowdon is there, who escaped from Prestonpans field, and it is said is to raise the Campbells.

October 30, this King's birthday, I from the Hills heard the Castle give two rownds, and the men of war from the Firth 130 guns. The expres came with ane accownt of Martha Blair's death yesternight at 9; she is to be buried on Fryday. he the express tells Mrs Hamilton is dead destracted. She is a dawghter of late Sir James Bell's and married Bangowr's brother the nationall poetic good for nothing lad. He had acqwentance of Prince Charles at Rome and joyned him here upon which she turn'd melancholy and is now dead last night. Will Kichen's howse at the end of

Wrights howses was pileged and they took blankets and cloaths both of his own and work he was making for others as taylor.

Ereskin the bruer is a qwacker,* and he was robbed and plundered. He went and complained to the Prince in the blunt plain way of that people he said 'freind Charles, George his men when they came took a parte but thy men have taken all from me, Charles thow art seeking a crown but this is not the way to obtain it.' The Prince said if he cowld know and poynt owt who had done this he showld have redress Erskin answered 'Charles thow owght to know thy men and keep them in order I am not conserned to know thy freinds,' and so he was dismissed.

Fryday, November 1, the Higlanders

* Thomas Erskine, a son of the Rev. Philip Erskine of Parsonfield in Northumberland. He became a Quaker, and preached in Edinburgh from 1728 onwards. He married, 1st, 1723, Mary Gelly or Jaffray; 2nd, 1734, Margaret, daughter of George Miller.—*Information from* W. F. Miller, Esq.

evacuat Edinburgh and the Prince went to Pinkie;* and one Saturday and Sabath they marched throw Rosslen Muir and by Auchendinie Bridge for the sowth. They have gott gwardes in forme for the Prince and they have a trowpe of gentlemen in huzare dress with furred caps, long swords or shabbers, and limber boots. The Secretary Murry's lady eqwiped her self in this dress with pistols at her syde sadle, and her cape on distingwished with a white plumoshe fether. I saw them with my prospect distinctly on ther long march along the muir horse and foot going down to Milton Milne near Glencorse. They halted one Saturday at Greenlaw and had enterteanment from Mrs Philp at her howse of Greenlaw, the Duke of Athol as they call him and Pearthshir gentlemen &c. lodged ther. Collonell Warran ane Irish man and ingeneer with some of ther officers were one Satwrday night at Glencorse howse

* He went the night before.—Blaikie's *Itinerary* [*Scottish History Society*], p. 23.

with Mr Bothwell * and Captain McNeill the Highland useless captain. I had some of Warren's gasconad Irish storys from Mr Bothwell abowt his battery he had erected at Alway to defend the pass and of his red hot ball he was to burn the men of war with. The disorderly armie sowed destruction wher they marched and seased the cowntry horses on all hands they took all the fowr from poor Stewart tennant in Glencors Mains that Sabath morning; and on Satwrday took of Mr Willson the minister's horse and all they cowld lay hands on. They had above 150 wagons and cartes with provision amonition and bagage, and all Generall Cope's wagons they had taken at the field of Preston. One Sabath morning they marched off from Greenlaw with pypers playing &c. towards Pebles. The church bells had rung and I went to church, but Mr Wilson thowght it not expedient to preach, so I went in and heard

* Henry Bothwell of Glencorse, in 1734 he assumed the title of Lord Holyroodhouse, and died in 1755.

Stewart the tennants dismall accownt, and Mr Bothwell of the loss of his two horses and Captain McNeill of his horse furnitur and boots, for horse he has none; and one my returne, at a distance saw ane other sqwad bag and bagage pass to joyn the rest. The Prince was said to be with these and proposed to ly at Pebles. They were hard upon Baron Clerk's tennants and horse and upon the town of Penniecook, and took horses and all. Severall deserted from there armie and the country people had many horses off among the hills. They had sett Fryday for bringing in the Cess and many upon the proclamation came in on horsback, and this occasion they took to sease all the horses and got many. As I came from Glencorse Church, Sabath, November 3, I saw an Edinburgh hyrer who letts cheses in qwest of his horses; they had taken all from him. I told him they were to randivowz at the Howgate mowth beyond Achendinnie, wher he might come up with them. It was but

two myles ryding, but I dowted to little purpose. We took the ordinary precawtion of secreting owr things and hyding owr horses, but God be praised we had no disturbance tho they marched so near us as short two miles.

Monday, November 4, the schen is shifted; the Highland armie is marched for Peebles and there Prince with them, and many of them deserts throw the hills.

Three of them made resistance, but were catched two of them and disarmed at Castellaw. They browght them to Woodhowslea with a gward and one of them was wownded in the head with a ston and all bloodie. They caryed them forward and at Boghall took five gwinees and a crown off them. They had gott the armes from him that fled and fyred his gun after him, but missed him. Some of the cowntry men were wownded in the hands in apprehending them, and November 5 they lodged them in the Castle of Edinburgh.

November 5 as I returned from Edin-

burgh at Buckstain I met from Swanston a sett of cowntry men carrying in 3 Highlanders and using them not tenderly, but the gang have irritat the cowntry by there pilfering and oppression and they ar seased everywhere and taken to the Castle of Edinburgh and there money and things taken from them. 'Tis reported abowt 1000 have deserted since they went sowth. The fellow was ownded when taken at Castellaw had a furr hatt and shirt with Camrick ruffells down the brest and very clean and white where not bloody he caled his name Cameron when I asked him, but had no dowt robbed the shirt. Abowt the begining of November A. Stewart, late Lord Provost, in going to London asked Generall Wade's pass, he being member of the House of Commons. The Generall said he showld have it but that many things were said against him, and he wished he might clear himself, and Lord Trawly asked if he carryed up ane address from the City of Edin-

burgh* to the King it was au reang [all wrong?]. The provost went on his jurny and was no sooner arrived but the Goverment put him in custody of two messengers. Carenwath is in custody of our mony the messenger.

Sir James Stewart 'tis said went from Weems to Perth, and from that to Aberdeen, and took shiping for France; and the Duager popish Cowntess of Strathmore with him. She was a dawghter of John Earl of Dundonald, they are both degenerat Protestant, and owt of the way of there ancestors.

This November the rebells after taking Carlyll have got the length of Manshester.

To write of the transactions of the letter parte of this year 1745 is to write of wonderfull things. A poor Italian prince C. Stewart, from Lochqwaber in the obscurest corner of Britain, with ane ill-armed mobb of Highlanders

* Short in the MS.

and a bankrupt Twedall laird his secretary, and bagpypes surprising Edinburgh o'rruning Scotland at Cockeny, defeating a Royall armie, penetrating in to the heart of England, seasing garisoned towns, proclaming a King in spight of a mighty King with some six milions in hand, with powrfull armies and fleets and many generalls, and the Parliament of Great Britain now sitting to support all. This Prince making his progress after a mock prince had in Jun and July stroled abowt personating him and scatering pretended titles of honowr, and this plot and rebellion hatched and carryed on for two years befor it brok owt. Yet this Prince landing so obscurely, with 7 persons, was able to make such a figure shows want of inteligence and conduct in the administration and must stand a blot in the British history to latest posterity—Qwis talia fando—Mirmidonum Dolopumve Dolus [Galica Fraus] vel durus miles Ulixes [*sic*] montani [Hardy Prince Charles] Temperet a lachrimis—

Intier victory by Will[iam] D[uke] of Cumberland over the rebells on Drummossy muir near Colloden April 16 Wedensday 1746, and Prestonpans and Falkirk defeats under Generalls Cope and Hally repayed with interest.

ADDITIONAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE REBELLION OF 1745.

To the Author of The Calladonia Mercury. Sir, By the blunders of owr Regence and Scots ministry and the treachery of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and by the ill conduct of owr Generall, there has been a wonderfull reverse of affairs and withowt having recowrs to miracles we see what a weake administration withowt inteligence have browght affairs to in this place.

The key of the nation was given up when Generall Cope past Stirling and penetrat too far into a montanows woody cowntry, full of dangerows passes and defyles, and was obliged to fly and leave a desperat enimie ane open passage into a well cultivat plentifull cowntry; and yet this had not been attended with all the bad conseqwences has followed had a liftenancie been named and the melitia disiplined and armed, or had Edinburgh been under a Whig administration. But a

well affected church and city were discouraged by those who owght to have raised and conducted a spirit for liberty and self defence no liftenancy sent down it was said by the Provost of Edinburgh to be contrair to law to ryse in armes to protect owrselves. The Kings Advocat told the Church for them to emitt a seasonable warning against popery and arbitrary power was to alarme the cowntry; when the town of Edinburgh asked if it was contrair to law for them to arme and pay 1000 men in there own defence, he wowld give no answer and wowld not write to Cowrt for a warrant unless they cowld assure him fully they cowld procure a subscription for ther pay. All was drame (?) and delay, and the resolutions the Whig partie forced the provost and Cowncill into were never execut till it was to late and there was a heavy management in the wholl such a disconcerted moble as we became were ane easie pray to 4000 Highlanders. The panick was industriowsly spirited up and

the honest resolut partie had nobody they cowld confid in. They saw the Higland chiftans had all the inteligence and the plott was well laid and conducted A popish Italian prince with the oddest crue Britain cowld produce came all with plaids, bagpips and bairbuttocks, from the Prince to the bagage man. The consternation incressed; they rushed in at the Netherboll port which was throwen open September 17; seased the town the town gwarde under there armes and got all the trainband magazin and turned owr cannon against us. They mett ane armie had been flying befor them in there own cowntry and had by longmarches and a voage got sowth of them but withowt the most valowable defensive wapon ther swords, and these as timerows deere became there pray, and they stoll a victory from ane uncatiows Generall; and now Sir yow pretend to give yowr advice to the ministers of Edinburgh as to ther duti on this occasion . . . .

(The paper goes no further.)

October 12. This is now the fowrth silent Lords day in Edinburgh. Look O Lord upon the manyfold desolations of that place and make them in it consider ther manyfold former abominations. How do the walls murne for the stage plays dancing assemblies and consorts of musick, there fullness of bread and lawghter is turned to sackcloath and ashes. In the midest of it ther is no magestracy nor rowle in the place. It is as the calderon and the inhabitants as the flesh in the pott yet O Lord hear the many importuning prayers ar put up by Thy remnant for owr deliverence, and make not a full end, for both citie and cowntry abowt are in owtmost destress and terror and it is time for The to work Lord, that we be not as Sodom and Gommorow the cities Thow overthrow in Thy wreath. O Lord, make owr enemies for they ar risen up against The, make them as Zeba and Zalmuna; make there carcases fall as dung to fat the land for they have brock all the lawse of hospitality and humanity.

May ue see no more sheans of blood-sheed and confusion O Lord. Rebwk the ambitiows the ambitiows, the prowd, and cruell men have risen up against us, and turne the cowncils of these unto foolish-ness and lett not men be as the fishes of the sea to swallow up and devowr one another. Owr Cowncils are weake and disconserted and our rowers have browght us into deep waters. Lett us not be brock by the east wind in the midest of the reaging of the seas. Thow rowls in the raging of the seas and overrowls the tumults of the people. The waters have lifted up themselves on high, the trowbled seas throw up myre and filth, the dreg and scum of a nation have trowbled the waters; twrn there broad-swords into prooning hooks and there spears into plow shears; lett the edge of there deadly wapons pearce the sowls of the obstinat. Art Thow not it who brock Rachab in pices and in 1688 and in 1715 wownded the dragon. Lett these appearances owr fathers have told us of

and which owr eyes have seen be now bread to Thy people this September 1745. Be Thow O Lord on owr syde for it is time for The to work when our strenth is nothing and our Cowncilers infatwat, and when we have been as men that dream. Let owr captivitie turned back and spoyll Thow those that spoyll us and scatter them in Thine anger O Lord God of hostes Lett the virgin dawghter of Zion lawgh them to scorn. Water Thy heretage with Thy ordinences and lett there be no more silent Sabaths in Edinburgh.

THE END.

Edinburgh : Printed by W. & R. Chambers, Limited.

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
A 000 038 913 0